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BACK TO ‘AYN JĀLŪT, AGAIN

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Abstract The battle of ‘Ayn Jālūt between the Mamlūks and Mongols in northern Palestine (3 September 1260) has received much attention among researchers and popular writers, and efforts have been made to explain the Mamlūk victory and its impact on the history of the region. This paper offers some new evidence for the conduct of the battle and its results, as well as looking again at its significance for both contemporaries and modern observers. It begins with a short rendition of what is already known about the battle, based mostly on the author’s previous studies. This is followed by three sections, each dealing with a passage that has hitherto not received the attention that it deserves. The first is from the recently published and translated short history of the Mongols in Iran attributed to the well-known scholar Quṭb al-Dīn Shīrāzī (d. 1311). The second passage is from the *Jāmi‘ al-tawārikh* by Rashīd al-Dīn (d. 1318) regarding some of the units that composed Kedbuqa’s army at the battle. The third passage is an exceptional anecdote in an otherwise banal account found in the chronicle by the famous al-Maqrīzī (d. 1442), showing that this author’s version of events may be a little more complicated than previously thought. The paper concludes with some considerations on the importance of the battle, suggesting that in spite of the relatively small numbers of the troops involved (certainly when compared to future battles between the two sides), it was indeed a crucial encounter, setting the stage for the history – military and otherwise – of the region for many subsequent decades.

Keywords Mamlūks, Mongols, Ilkhanate, military history, Arabic and Persian historiography, Palestine, ‘Ayn Jālūt

COMPILING FATĀWĀ IN THE ISLAMIC WEST (third/ninth-ninth/fifteenth centuries)*

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Abstract In this article, a chronology and typology of the *fatāwā* compilations written in the Islamic West (al-Andalus, Sicily and the Maghrib) between the 3rd/9th–9th/15th centuries are established. The information regarding their authors and the reasons they stated for compiling legal opinions is collected and analyzed. Based on the results, a range of general explanatory frameworks for the compilation effort according to each period is given. Special attention is paid to the links between jurists and rulers. The Almoravid case with its acceptance of legal probabilism or indeterminacy is contrasted with the Almohad case in which no *fatāwā* compilations were collected while an interest in legal codification can be ascertained. In the Naṣrid, Ḥafṣid, ‘Abd al-Wādid and Marīnid periods, the *fatāwā* compilations acquire meaning in connection with the post-Almohad context and with the rise of the *Mukhtaṣar* genre.

Keywords Mediaeval Islamic West, Mālikī legal school, *Fatāwā* compilations, *Mukhtaṣar* genre, political and legal authority, codification

“PUT THE OCEAN BETWEEN THEM”: FORNICATION AS PERMANENT IMPEDIMENT TO MARRIAGE IN EARLY IBĀDĪ ISLAM

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Abstract In the Qur’ān, there are several references to *zinā* (meaning both fornication and adultery), which stress the social ills that follow from committing such a sin. The Qur’ān makes it clear that those found guilty of *zinā*, regardless of their marital status, will be liable to receive a punishment of one hundred lashes, whilst slaves, married or unmarried, should receive fifty lashes (Q. 24:2). Nonetheless, the complexities surrounding the issue of adultery, and in particular the issue of its punishment, gave rise to a heated debate in the early Islamic

* Previous drafts of this paper were read at the Conference *New Approaches to World Islamic and Middle East Studies*, Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, May 16-18 2014, at the *Shari‘a Workshop*, Columbia University, April 27, 2017, and at the International Workshop *Uses of the Past in Pre-modern Codification and Canonization of Islamic Law*, University of Bergen, 2018. I wish to thank the participants for their comments and suggestions. Special thanks to Luis Molina – to whom I owe the Table here included –, Ersilia Francesca and Francisco Vidal Castro.

juristic circles, which coalesced into a number of traditions conveying a growing strictness with regard to the punishment of adultery, especially towards married adulterers. In the first part of my paper, I offer an interpretation of the most significant among these narrations. In the second part, I provide an account of the issue from the perspective of the early Ibāḍī sources, which are often neglected in mainstream Islamic studies, in order to trace the Ibāḍī contribution to the early juristic debate on fornication and adultery. My hypothesis is that a focus on Ibāḍī sources, which have been proven to preserve some very early material, provides a stronger basis for the study of the early centuries of Islam.

Keywords Ibāḍī Islam, jurisprudence, marriage, *zinā*, fornication, adultery

ASH‘ARISM, CAUSALITY, AND THE CULT OF SAINTS

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Dedicated to my teacher and mentor Ella Landau-Tasseron

Abstract The Muslim cult of saints is often termed a ‘popular’ form of religion. Nonetheless, a long tradition of Sunnī scholarly apologia for the cult defended it as consistent with Islamic monotheism on the basis of Ash‘arī theological principles. These treatises conceptualize *tawḥīd* first and foremost as acknowledgement of Allāh’s monopoly on efficient causation, and argue that the practices in question, such as appeal addressed to the Prophet Muḥammad at his tomb, do not gainsay this foundational belief. The apologetic tradition, stretching from Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī (d. 756/1355) to Aḥmad Zaynī Daḥlān (d. 1304/1886), was formulated in response to Ibn Taymiyya’s and later the Wahhābīs’ denunciation of the cult as a form of *shirk* (polytheism). In contradistinction to the Ash‘arīs, the Taymiyyans’ condemnation of the cult rested on a praxis-centered theology of worship, one that entails a relative affirmation of human agency and a relative decentering of the topic of efficient causation in favor of Allāh’s role as a final cause of human action.

Keywords Ash‘arism, *kasb*, Taqī al-Dīn al-Subkī, cult of saints, Ibn Taymiyya, Wahhābiyya, al-Nābulusī

VESTIGES OF 'ASMĀ' AL-FI'L IN THE MODERN ARABIC DIALECTS

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Abstract In Arabic grammatical terminology, the term 'asmā' al-fi'l refers to some imperative forms, usually denoting commands or warnings. Sībawayhi and other early grammarians from the eighth to the twelfth centuries conceive these forms as feminine nouns. Later grammarians' views of the term differ from that of Sībawayhi and the early grammarians. The imperative forms classified by Sībawayhi and by the later grammarians as 'asmā' al-fi'l occurred in the old Bedouin dialects of the eighth century. The indeclinable imperative forms of the fa'āli pattern are prevalent in the dialect of Qašqa-Darya in Uzbekistan. This accords with Otto Jastrow's inference that archaic Arabic components were preserved only in this peripheral isolated dialect.

Keywords Sībawayhi, 'asmā' al-fi'l, imperative warnings, fa'āli pattern, 'indak or 'andak, lēk

PERSIAN PAINTING: THE PAGE AND THE TEXT AS DETERMINANTS IN THE CONSTRUCTION OF PICTORIAL SPACE*

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Abstract In this paper, I examine how the physical structure of a manuscript, the composition of an illustrated page, and especially the interplay between the text blocks and the illustration influence, control, and aid the representation of the pictorial space of the painting. I consider the illustration as one component of a fourfold structure, the other three being the quire, the folio, and the text. Henceforth, my argument is that each one of these components, or rather the interplay between them, has an impact on the fictional space in the painting, on its narrative, and on the various layers of meaning. The location of the

* At the end of 2006, I spent a semester at Harvard University as a fellow of AKAPIA, during which I studied the role of the frame in painting. Lecturing on the subject after that semester was over, I came to understand that a complete exploration of the frame is inseparable from a general study of the pictorial space. I thus embarked on a new area of research, which I hope to publish soon. The article presented here is written as a chapter of this book, and its publication is a token of my gratitude to the Aga Khan Program at Harvard University. In 2010 I spent a month in the Bellagio Center of the Rockefeller Foundation, Italy, trying to develop a useful methodological approach to understand the depiction of space in Islamic painting. There, in Bellagio, I formed the first ideas presented in this paper, and I am thankful to the Rockefeller Foundation and the staff of the Bellagio center.

painting within the quire, i.e., on the recto or verso of the folio, often determines where are the inner and outer sides of the space and the movement within the plot and its time. The bold expansions of the paintings into the margins of the folios further enhance the meaning of “in” and “out”, both on the horizontal plan and in relation to the viewer’s eye. Finally, the composition of the page, i.e., the interplay between the text columns and the illustration creates a fictional division of the space into various zones of depth, in the same way as stage props. An analysis of Arab and Persian Paintings from the 13th to the 17th centuries shows that the range of variation in the interplay between the folio, the frame, and the composition is almost endless, yet they all contribute to the construction of a multi-dimensional pictorial space.

Keywords Islamic art, Arab painting, Persian painting, space in Islamic painting

**Zur Darstellung des Götzenkultes in der vorislamischen Poesie
bei Ignaz Goldziher**

(Auszug aus der Antrittsvorlesung von 1892)

Miklos Muranyi

Bonn

Abstract I am privileged to contribute to this *Festschrift* a section from Ignaz Goldziher’s inaugural lecture about aspects of pre-Islamic poetry, delivered at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences in 1892 (in Hungarian). I aimed to translate his old-fashioned language into German as if it were his own wording and style in his other publications. In his lecture, Goldziher adopts the basic concept stressed by Th. Nöldeke about the falsification of pre-Islamic religious terms according to the criteria of Islamic conceptions. Also the term *rabb* has been understood as the title for the ruler of the tribe but not for a deity in pre-Islamic times.

Keywords poetry, oath, deity, idolatry, *ṣanam*, *rabb*, ‘Ā’im, Wadd, Hubal, Ka’ba

**A TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF ISLAMIC LEARNING IN EARLY AND CLASSICAL
ISLAM**

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Abstract Using representative random samples, three groups of ‘*ulamā*’, Islamic religious scholars, are compared to provide us with an overview of the development of Islamic learning and its geographic distribution with an eye to the phenomenon of *ṭalab al-‘ilm* during the first four centuries of Islam. The three groups of scholars compared are: the Companions (up to the year 105 AH); the ‘*ulamā*’ who died between 225 and 275 AH (the focus of this study); and, finally, the ‘*ulamā*’ who passed away in 350 to 400 AH. The article shows how the main Islamic religious sciences (*Ḥadīth*, *Qirā’a*, Exegesis, Language, and Law) developed across the three time segments of ‘*ulamā*’ studied, adds a word or two about non-religious learning, and caps off with a clear picture of the diversification of intellectual activities, ultimately leading to the establishment of the *madrasa* at the end of the period studied.

Keywords Classical Islam, geographic distribution, Islamic religious sciences, *ṭalab al-‘ilm*, ‘*ulamā*’

MIGBIL SHOOTS IN THE DARK: A BEDOUIN TALE

Frank H. Stewart

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Abstract The core of this article is the transcript of a story recorded in 1976 from a member of the Aḥaywāt tribe in central Sinai. The Arabic text is accompanied by an English translation and by an introduction. The story deals with a camel raid that took place in the southern Negev some time during the first third of the twentieth century. The victims, who were Aḥaywāt, caught up with the two raiders, who were members of the Ma‘āzih tribe. The raiders held their victims at a standstill for a full day; but in the night that followed one of the Aḥaywāt shot both raiders dead and recovered the camels. Some days later the Aḥaywāt returned to the site, stripped the two dead Ma‘āzih of their weapons and ammunition, and covered their bodies with stones. The introduction to the story consists of three parts. (1) A description of the circumstances under which the text was recorded and prepared for publication. (2) An account of the background to the story and of how in the end blood-money was paid for the victims. (3) Some general remarks about the dialect in which the story is narrated, followed by a discussion of certain linguistic points of detail. At the end of the article is a list of corrections and additions to the author’s book *Texts in Sinai Bedouin Law*.

Keywords Bedouin, Sinai, Negev, Arabic dialect, raiding, warfare

NEW MATERIAL ON THE USE AND MEANING OF THE TERM *ISRĀʿĪLIYYĀT*

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Abstract New sources and studies which appeared in the last twenty years have paved the way for a more comprehensive discussion on the use and meaning of the term *Isrāʿīliyyāt* in Islamic literature. After the first quotation of the term *Isrāʿīliyyāt* in al-Masʿūdī's *Murūj al-dhahab*, the sources evidence continuity in the attestation of the term before and after Ibn Taymiyya, who was the first author to consistently use the term in theological contexts. The attestations display a variety of meanings attributed to the term: *Isrāʿīliyyāt* are connected to traditions and narratives on the prophets, some *ḥadīth*-like reports, and are sometimes evoked to define a kind of report or tradition, or to indicate a hypothetical literary genre. Transmitters and authors involved display different attitudes and some references seem to reflect a neutral attitude, but a negative one is the most common trait. Ibn Taymiyya intensified this and infused a new theological meaning into the term. In general, the uses and meanings of the term as a whole bear evidence on how *Isrāʿīliyyāt* continuously circulated to introduce, label and above all dismiss some narratives, transmitters or authors.

Keywords Islam, Jews, Bible, Qurʿanic exegesis, Islamic literature, *Isrāʿīliyyāt*

THE *KITĀB AL-NAWĀZIL* BY ABŪ AL-LAYTH AL-SAMARQANDĪ AS A SOURCE FOR LEGAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY*

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Abstract The *Kitāb al-nawāzil*, compiled by the Ḥanafī Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, is considered the earliest extant *fatwā* collection. It preserves legal decisions of Ḥanafī jurists primarily from Balkh, in Khurāsān, up to the late fourth/tenth century. Many of these legal decisions respond to the contingencies of the local community by reconciling Ḥanafī law with current practice, and hence reflect the social environment from which they arose. By examining the structure and contents of *Kitāb al-nawāzil*, which has so far been studied only

* The research on which this article is based was supported by the Israel Science Foundation (grant no. 1395/14).

in a preliminary fashion, this paper demonstrates the immense value of this collection for the development of Ḥanafī law, for our understanding of this development, and for learning about everyday life in early Islamic Balkh. This demonstration reveals the importance of the *Nawāzil*, first, as a reservoir of raw material from which legal opinions were incorporated into Ḥanafī standard law; second, in providing a picture of the interrelationships between Ḥanafī law in theory and practice, revealing the role of custom in shaping the law; and third, as a firsthand historical documentation of a specific Persian Muslim community, by its own members.

Keywords Ḥanafī law, *fatwās*, Balkh, Abū al-Layth al-Samarqandī, eastern Iran, *Kitāb al-nawāzil*

TRANSMITTING IMĀMĪ ḤADĪTH, PRESERVING KNOWLEDGE: REMARKS ON THREE AMĀLĪ WORKS OF THE BUWAYHĪ PERIOD*

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Abstract One of the sub-genres of the Imāmī *ḥadīth* literature to which very little attention had been paid in scholarship so far is known by the term *amālī*, that is, “dictations”. The centrality of *amālī* works within the Shī‘ī corpus is easily discernable due to the repeated references to, and numerous quotations from, four *amālī* works that bear the names of four prominent scholars of the Buwayhī period (334/945-447/1055): Ibn Bābawayh, al-Shaykh al-Ṣadūq (d. 381/991), al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), Abū Ja‘far al-Ṭūsī (d. 460/1067), and al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044). Unlike al-Murtaḍā’s *Amālī*, the three *Amālīs* attributed to the other scholars clearly belong within what seems to constitute a well-defined, though understudied, sub-genre of *ḥadīth* literature. Referring to thematic, stylistic, and technical aspects characteristic of these works, the present article sets out to explore unfamiliar sides of this sub-genre and evaluate its importance for the transmission and preservation of knowledge following the onset of the twelfth Imām’s greater occultation (329/941).

Keywords *Amālī*, *ḥadīth*, Imāmiyya, Shī‘a, Buwayhī period, dictation, transmission

* This article is an extended version of a talk I gave at the Shī‘ī Studies Symposium “The Acquisition and Transmission of Knowledge: The Role of Shī‘ī Institutions of Learning in the Spread and Defense of a Tradition” at the University of Chicago in April 2016. I thank Etan Kohlberg for his insightful comments on an earlier draft of this article.